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ADDRESS OF J. STROM THURMOND, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH
CAROLINA, AT FLORIDA STATE LABOR DAY CELEBRATION,
WILDWOOD, FLORIDA, SEPTEMBER 6, 1948, 11:00 A.M. EST.

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

I welcome this opportunity to greet the people of Florida. At no place in the world has God and man cooperated more earnestly or more effectively in creating a land of beauty and magnificence.

The spirit of initiative and enterprise manifested by the people of Florida is convincing proof that you are interested in constitutional government. People who manifest such state pride as you do are assuredly interested in states' rights.

I was particularly interested in knowing that the people of Florida expressed confidence in my good friend and fellow-worker, Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi. The fact that so many of you indicated that he was your choice for leadership in in this States' Rights fight makes me happy and grateful.

Today throughout the length and breadth of the land the American people are celebrating Labor Day, and paying a well-merited tribute to the working men and women of the nation.

We gratefully remember their magnificent job of production during World War II which played such a decisive part in the victory of our armed forces.

Production is the keystone of the future which we confidently look to. If we are to achieve it, labor must produce to win the peace as labor produced to win the war.

We are fortunate that American labor is active and virile. So long as our working men and women assume and discharge their civic responsibilities, this nation will remain unfriendly soil for the seeds of totalitarian rule. It was no coincidence that there were strong labor movements in those countries in Europe which resisted the Nazi and Fascist ideologies, and that the dictators were forced to crush the labor unions and regiment them under government control before the liberty of the people could be destroyed.

Labor Day memorializes the struggle by which our working men and women established their priceless rights, and particularly the right of collective bargaining. They had to fight hard, wait long, and make many sacrifices before the progress of which they are justly proud today was won.

Freedom from industrial unrest and strife is necessary to bring about full production; it is essential to the well-being of both labor and industry. Labor and management are dependent one upon the other. They are both human institutions. They speak the same language. Working together they can accomplish production miracles.

The American system of individual initiative is the hope of economic opportunity for the people of the world in which we live today. It is now under assault from forces throughout the world which would collectivize mankind and destroy the American way of life.

Labor has the greatest stake in our economic system. Labor knows that our system is the only one under which working men and women are free from regimentation, the only one under which we guarantee our children an unlimited ceiling of economic opportunity to challenge their enterprise and ambition.

Thomas Jefferson defined good government as "A wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement; and shall not take from labor the bread it has earned."

In its activities in the field of industrial relations, government must be fair and impartial -- fair to labor, fair to industry, and fair to the public.

On this Labor Day, I want to pay an especial tribute both to labor and management in our own State of South Carolina for the record which they have made of preventing industrial strife during my term as Governor.

If someone in Germany back in 1931 or 1932 had possessed the vision and the courage to wage a States' Rights campaign, the awful torment of World War Two might never have deluged the world.

In the transition from the German Republic to the German Reich all state legislatures were abolished. The elected heads of the 17 states were replaced with Hitler henchmen. Opposing parties were dissolved and democratic thinking leaders were liquidated.

The German people were foolish enough to believe that human rights could be enlarged upon by sacrificing constitutional rights. They soon learned that constitutional rights in ^{are} themselves /human rights, and that when constitutional rights are gone all human rights are destroyed.

We in America have refused to concentrate the powers of government in Washington but instead have distributed these powers among the various states. Government in the States is close to the people. Government in the States is so close to the people that it would be difficult for a dictator to march into a State Capitol and take over. But should such a dictator rise to power in one State he could not possibly extend his tyranny over into the boundaries of the other 47 states under our present system.

I warn you here and now, my friends. The civil rights program is in the wedge which can force open the doorway to tyranny.

Some of our Southern senators and congressmen made a valiant fight to defeat the passage of the notorious civil rights bill.

Those who advocate states rights in America, here and now, sound a warning. If the people of this State and other states, who feel as we feel, do not uphold the campaign of States' Rights, we will have repudiated the men who have made this fight for us.

My friends, as a spokesman for the States' Rights Democrats, I have made it a point, wherever I have gone, to explain somewhat in detail the obnoxious planks in the misnamed civil rights bill. I find that the people are interested in learning the truth. With this thought in mind, let us now examine this alleged civil rights program which is so heartily supported by the three nominees of the Philadelphia convention.

First is the Federal Anti-Poll Tax Bill. By this bill, Congress invades the power of the states to elect their own officials and would control elections within the States by taking this power from the people.

It is fundamental in the American system of government that, if liberty is to be retained in this country, the control of our elections must remain at home. There can be no tyrant, there can be no dictator, in America, if the people in the communities of the nation control their elections, fix voting qualifications, and determine how and when franchise shall be granted. This is historic Americanism.

The Federal Police Bill -- The so-called Anti-Lynching Law -- is of the same stripe. Lynching is almost an extinct crime. No one favors lynching. Lynching is banned by the laws of all 48 of the states in the Union. Lynching is murder and is punishable by death or life imprisonment in all of our States. Last year there was but one recorded lynching in the entire Southland, and the records were reliably tabulated by Tuskegee Institute, one of the great Negro colleges of the Nation -- located in the State of Alabama.

Yet, despite the indisputable fact that the nation is overcoming the crime of lynching, an effort is now being made to enact an anti-lynching law in the Congress.

Those who advocate the anti-lynching law propose to give the federal government the power to punish crimes committed within the individual States. It is another gesture to tyranny, another effort to centralize the power of government in Washington.

My fellow Americans, this is indeed a gloomy political picture. But there is hope. This hope is reflected in the fight of the States' Rights Democrats who are not willing to follow party leaders who deliberately desert the principles which have been the foundation stones of the Democratic Party for more than a hundred years.

The Democratic Party of Alabama did not choose to travel this un-American way. The Democratic Party of Mississippi was not willing to take this course. The Democratic Party of South Carolina was not willing to desert these cherished ideals. And no one can say that these States have not been in the forefront in all matters of party loyalty throughout the years since the Democratic Party came into being.

If those advocates of an anti-lynching law are sincere in what they say then why did they refuse to permit this proposition to be submitted in the constitutional way for consideration as an amendment to our constitution? You know the answer. These men are men of expediency and not men of great principles. They prefer to scandalize, to insult, to berate, to condemn, to damn, hoping that the emotions of the people will become so aroused that logic will be lost in confusion.

Read the notes on the constitutional convention of 1787 and it becomes obvious that local control of police power must be maintained at home. If we lose our local police powers we will eventually lose our liberties. The founders of our country deliberately denied the federal government any police powers over the States because they knew, as we know, that to concentrate police powers within the federal government is to open the way to dictatorship and tyranny. Yet we have President Truman's word for it that he is now training federal police to enforce the anti-lynching bill and the F.E.P.C. as soon as they become the laws of the land.

Only one lynching last year, my friends, think of it And yet Harry Truman and his associates, and Tom Dewey and Henry Wallace, are willing to break away from constitutional government, create a police force, invade the rights of the individual states, and all this under the guise of preventing lynching. This is an insult to the intelligence of our people. States' Rights Democrats are not willing to take this insult lying down.

Another assault upon the intelligence of our people is the attempt of the politicians to enforce mingling of the two races. The people in a local community have the right to use the

means and methods that will best promote harmonious relations.

Some may determine that separation of the two races is the most effective way to accomplish this purpose. This is a method employed in some States to establish and maintain better race relations. Each State has the right -- a right that should not be denied by any power -- to avail itself of the best method of promoting harmony between the people of different races within its boundaries. Every right-thinking American wants good racial relations. If the interests of the people of New York are better served under laws prohibiting separation of the races, then they should have the right to prohibit separation. If the people of Florida are better governed under separation laws, then they should have the right to enact such legislation. If a State does not need legislation for or against separation of the races, then federal laws on the subject should not be imposed on that State. Even in States where there are no laws separating the races, the people voluntarily establish segregation; otherwise, there would be no Harlem in New York City, no Chinatown in San Francisco, no South Side in Chicago, and no similar segregated communities in Philadelphia, Detroit and other densely populated cities.

The tragedy that lies in the willingness of the professional politician, seeking office, to usurp power is well illustrated by the horrible example set lately by the nominees of the Republican, Democratic and Progressive Parties, Dewey, Truman and Wallace, -- all willing to break down the separation of the races in the armed forces, even at the sacrifice of the morale of the soldiers and the safety of the country itself, against the advice of the military leaders charged with the defense of the nation. Our boys in Service should not be subjected to an unnecessary hazard. The American people do not want their sons placed in such a position, when the military leaders say it is unsafe, simply to allow politicians of this country to appeal to bloc votes.

The proposed federal Fair Employment Practices act, upheld by Dewey, advocated by Wallace and recommended by Harry Truman, generally known as the FEPC, was introduced in the United States Senate by Senator Ives as Senate Bill 984. This proposed law would make it unlawful to discriminate in matters of employment on account of "race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry." The proposed American FEPC was patterned after a Russian law written by Joseph Stalin about 1920, referred to in Russia as Stalin's "All-Races Law". Stalin was commissar of Nationalities at the time

that he wrote this law, and he used it as a means of advancing himself to supreme dictator of Soviet Russia. The administrative and judicial provisions in the proposed FEPC faithfully follow the Russian pattern in Stalin's "All-Races Law." The same course was followed in New York by the men who wrote the FEPC bill that Tom Dewey signed into law.

With this history and background, it would have been natural for the American people to have expected the nominees of the Philadelphia conventions to oppose this collection of communistic ideas, dished up to them as a Fair Employment Practices act, instead of calling for its enactment. States' Rights Democrats oppose this American edition of the Russian FEPC, because it violates every concept of the right of employers and employees under the constitution of the United States.

Dewey's, Wallace's, and Truman's F.E.P.C. is admirably suited to the Russian form of government, where the thoughts, activities and ambitions of the people are controlled from Moscow, and they live and move at the whim and caprice of a dictator.

It will not work in free America or in any free country where the dignity and worth and liberty of the individual is respected.

We have recently learned of the infiltration of communist spies into our government and our critical industries. You may rest assured that the communists will use the FEPC law to serve their purposes. It will afford them a way of forcing their agents and saboteurs into every tool and die room, every machine shop and every industrial plant and laboratory, atomic or otherwise, in America. Dewey's, Wallace's and Truman's FEPC was made to order for communist use in their designs upon our national security. It might well be entitled "a law to sabotage America".

Dewey's, Wallace's and Truman's FEPC contains a fundamental threat to our American way of life. This proposal calls for an army of federal police, empowered to spy into the affairs of each business enterprise in the United States, to control the hiring and firing of employees, promotion and demotion of employees, and to enforce rules and regulations which govern the relations between employer and employee.

The employee will no longer have the right to choose his associates, either on the job or in the labor organizations. The employer is deprived of his right to employ people who will best serve his business. He cannot promote and demote as his judgment demands. From the point of view of all of us, whether employer or

employee or other private citizen, the net effect of Dewey's, Wallace's and Truman's FEPC will be to force all business and business relationships in this country into a Washington pattern, guided and enforced by a federal Gestapo, with dangerous powers over the lives of all our people.

The Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice is to be re-organized to enforce this so-called Civil Rights program. Its agents would circulate throughout the land, meddling with private business, policing elections, intervening in private lawsuits, breeding litigation, and keeping our people in a constant state of apprehension and harrassment. Liberty quickly perishes under such a setup, as we have seen in Europe in our own time. The people do not want the Federal Government to usurp the police power, and thereby sow the seeds of a Gestapo in America.

There are those gentlemen who cry, "Party loyalty, party loyalty." But those who cry party loyalty are deserting the faith of our fathers.

What is it that we want in a Party? Is it the insults that were hurled at us in the Party convention in Philadelphia? Is it the scrapping of the principles for which our people have fought for five generations? Is it following the course that Hitler and Mussolini followed yesterday and the course which Joe Stalin is pursuing today? Does it mean that we must turn our backs upon

the teachings of Thomas Jefferson? Does it mean that we must humiliate ourselves while the Party leaders drag the name of the Democratic Party in the mire of political disgrace as they seek to appease groups that have never been known to be loyal to any party?

The people of the South will be loyal to principle and not to political bosses who would sell their rights for a mess of pottage.

This is a decision-making time. You cannot consistently oppose Harry Truman's civil rights program and at the same time support Harry Truman ... You cannot be opposed to Henry Wallace's communistic doctrine and at the same time support Henry Wallace You cannot oppose Tom Dewey's F.E.P.C. and at the same time support Tom Dewey. You cannot condemn the evils of the Philadelphia conventions without condemning the men who conceived and approve these evils.

Constitutional government must be preserved in America, and the States' Rights Democrats are the men and women who are making the fight to preserve it.

Ladies and gentlemen, it will not be said of America, as it is now said of Europe, that in a crisis we lacked the insight and the courage to wage a campaign for the preservation of constitutional government. We shall prove to the world that there still lives in America men and women with the fighting spirit of 1776. We invite you, my friends, to take up the flag and march with us up the hill of freedom.

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Crowd of about 4,000 - vociferous

Parade - reception - luncheon -

Constitutional government must be preserved in America, *Carlton Hays*

Chm Zip Starnes (Chm Comm)

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